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By Norman E. Scull

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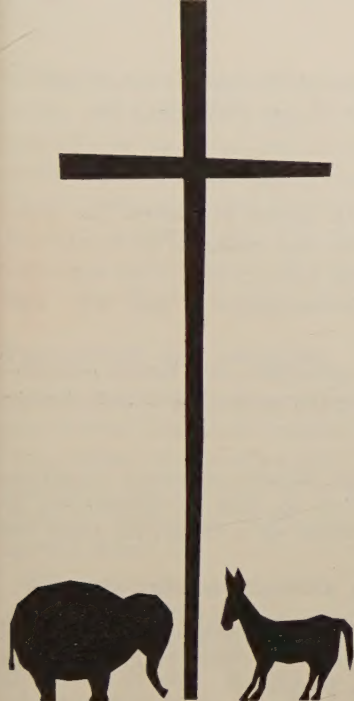
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Christians and the party platforms

The platforms of both major political parties contained a plank favoring home rule and Congressional representation for the residents of the District of Columbia in both 1952 and 1956; yet these American citizens remain disenfranchised and continue to be governed by Congress. Both the Democratic and Republican platforms in 1952 and 1956 pledged immediate statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, but statehood for Alaska was not granted until 1959.

The casual observer, unfamiliar with the purposes and manner of formulation of party platforms, might well shrug them off as unreliable political promises. Realistically viewed, however, platforms do serve important needs in our political life. Because the churchman as citizen should be concerned with

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political issues, he should understand the importance of party platforms which deal with problems of our common life.

Characteristics of party platforms

Since its appearance in 1840, the party platform has purported to be a statement of principles and policies on important questions. The party in power points with pride to its achievements; the "outs" emphasize the shortcomings of the "ins" and promise better things.

Conspicuously distributed in the platform are bland noncontroversial statements which could be transposed without change to the rival party's platform:

We pledge that we will continue the policies of sound conservation and wise development instituted by this administration to insure that our resources are managed as a beneficial trust for all the people.

1956 REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

We pledge unstinting support to a full and integrated program of development, protection, management and conservation of all of our natural resources for all of the people.

1956 DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

These are interspersed with carefully drawn ambiguous proclamations on controversial subjects, a prime example of which is the 1920 Republican plank on entry into the League of Nations:

We pledge the coming Republican Administration to make such agreements with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals, and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

Frequently the platform will take a forthright concrete position on a controversial issue after much intra-party strife. In 1948 the mild general statement of the Democratic Resolutions Committee on civil rights was replaced by an aggressive declaration in favor of President Truman's proposals by a vote of 651½ to 582½. Prior to that vote a states' rights plank was defeated, 925 to 309. Some Southern delegations bolted the party in protest, illustrating how party harmony may be disrupted.

The actual purpose of the platform is to attract maximum votes and financial support for the party while offending as few persons as possible. Seldom is the platform regarded as a covenant between the party and the voters, although the 1932 Democratic platform so pronounced itself. The size of the platform is unimportant. The Republicans won in 1928 with one of the longest platforms (9,000 words); the Democrats won in 1932 with one of the shortest (1,600 words).

Formulation and adoption

The platform is adopted by the national convention which also nominates the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. Very often this is done quickly, as in 1944 when the Republican platform was adopted in 20 seconds after its reading by the late Senator Taft—and with only about 25 per cent of the delegates on the floor.

The proposed platform is presented to the Convention by the Resolutions Committee, which is composed of delegates from each state. A subcommittee holds hearings before which various pressure groups appear to plead their causes. These groups usually include those which lobby most actively in Washington during the legislative year.

The content of the platform depends on the success of various party factions which struggle to control the convention. Each may have its own draft to present. Usually the platform of the party with an incumbent President seeking reelection will reflect his wishes. This was true in 1908 (Theodore Roosevelt), 1917 (Wilson), 1924 (Coolidge), and in 1936 (Franklin D. Roosevelt). It is reported that in 1908 Bryan dictated the Democratic platform over the long-distance telephone.

Amendment and interpretation

The Presidential nominee has the task of interpreting and amending the platform. Often his views are not accepted by groups within his own party. Former President Truman said on January 15, 1953 at his last press conference in office:

Only that national candidate, the President, can translate a platform into actionable terms. There are few chairmen of Congressional committees who follow the platform and the President's

construction of it more than 50 per cent of the time, and this is very bad.

However, he noted that as a Senator he had, on occasion, reserved the right of independence for himself.

Some planks are ignored by Presidential candidates. Al Smith chose to ignore the 1928 Democratic plank on prohibition; and President Roosevelt did not reduce federal expenditures by 25 per cent as was promised in the 1932 Democratic platform.

During a campaign the nominee may introduce new issues into the discussion. In 1956 the ownership of tideland oil was not mentioned in either platform but became a pertinent issue. President Eisenhower advocated 100 per cent farm parity when the 1956 Republican platform had been silent on that issue.

Changing circumstances require a pragmatic approach to platforms by the parties. Many months elapse between the adoption of a platform and its inauguration. It has been suggested that the parties should hold conventions every two years and empower standing committees to amend their platforms.

Importance of platforms

Our national parties are still loose collections of state and county parties. When the parties themselves are heterogeneous reflections of political pluralism, one could scarcely expect a unified reaction to the formulation and execution of the platforms. In addition to the fact that various centers of political power exist within the party organizations, differences of opinion within both parties range from "liberal" to "conservative" on most issues.

The platform is important as a mechanism for producing party harmony. It directs attention to the issues which both unify and divide the parties. It affords another opportunity for consideration of the demands of pressure groups and for self-analysis. Planks in the party platforms are often the forerunners of needed legislation which is enacted.

While the victorious party will seldom refer to the platform, the losing party will sometimes use it to call the winners to account. Those who were opposed to lend-lease utilized this argument against former President Roosevelt. Platforms will become more meaningful if the record of the party is judged in relation to them.

INFLUENCE ON VOTERS

Most political commentators have lamented the apathy of voters towards the issues. Of course, the parties are to blame to the extent that they emphasize the personal attractiveness of their candidates and avoid the issues. Voters who are aware of issues are usually concerned with those which are emphasized by the candidates. Most of the electorate remains disinterested and unaware of the content of party platforms.

Our Christian responsibility

As Christians we should strive to:

- Recognize that being an effective citizen is a Christian responsibility. Many of the goals of the Christian religion cannot be attained without participation in the political process which requires as a minimum the intelligent exercise of our right to vote.
 - Realize that political parties are essential to the effective functioning of our state and federal governments; and that compromise is a necessary ingredient of political action.
 - Become well informed about the political process, including how candidates are selected, how platforms are adopted and whether promises are kept. We must be able to ascertain what the real issues are—and not be distracted by “red herrings.”
 - Make known our views on the issues through all possible media. As Senator Harrison A. Williams said recently, “Never underestimate the value of a letter.”
 - Obtain and study the 1960 party platforms, follow the campaign, and see how relevant the platform planks become. After the election, review the performance of elected officials of both parties to see how it corresponds to their party's statement of principles and policies. If citizens treat platforms as meaningful, they will be so regarded by the parties.
-

Suggestions for

The Democratic and Republican Parties will draft their platforms at the Conventions in Los Angeles and Chicago in July. The platforms indicate the legislative programs which members of the parties will support, if elected. Christians may influence the platforms and therefore the policies of the parties by expressing their convictions to the delegates and to the platform committees of the political parties.



Domestic issues

GROWTH IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

From 1947 to 1953 production in the United States increased at an average rate of 4.6 per cent per year. Commencing in 1953, however, the rate fell to 2.5 per cent per year. Since our population is increasing by about 1.8 per cent per year, the true increase, in terms of improved living conditions, is only .7 per cent. This

arty platforms

The suggestions for the party platforms found on these pages express the convictions of individuals; they do not necessarily represent the position of the Council for Christian Social Action. Authors were asked to formulate policies which they think our Government should adopt. The subjects were chosen because of their relation to the "Call to Christian Action in Society" and to the policy statements adopted by the CCSA.

record of near-stagnation has come in a period when plenty of manpower has been available and when machine productivity was increasing rapidly.

Failure to produce is caused primarily by our lack of the will to produce. This is evidenced by our Government's restrictive policies, such as tight money, high interest rates and efforts to balance the budget at low levels of production.

Soviet industry is growing at 8 or 9 per cent per year. At the present rates of growth, the gap between our economies will be dangerously narrowed by 1970. Our weakness in the economic arena will soon carry over into the national defense.

Increase in production is necessary if we are to obtain desirable improvements in our level of living. Many of our people live far below American standards. Sixty per cent of the single individuals over 65 years of age live on less than \$1,000 per year. Our public schools are overcrowded and understaffed: we need half a million more classrooms and as many more teachers. Salaries for teachers should be increased by fifty per cent.

An expanding economy is necessary if we are to meet the pressing needs for hospitals, drugs, health services, housing, urban development, area redevelopment, use of natural resources, help for the handicapped, and aid for the 20 per cent of our people who are still ill-clad and ill-fed. It is also essential if we are to help the millions in other countries who are clamoring for progress.

America can achieve an annual increase of 5 per cent per year in its total national production. This is necessary if our economy is to meet the expanding needs of our growing population, provide for adequate defense and maintain an adequate standard of living for all Americans.

—TILFORD E. DUDLEY, Director, Speakers Bureau, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; and a member of the Council for Christian Social Action.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

A sound national policy for labor-management relations must safeguard both labor and management in the exercise of their proper functions; encourage orderly and just relationships between them; and promote the responsible use of their power with a view to the public interest.

The rights and responsibilities of these major economic groups have been given legal formulation in the Wagner Labor Relations Act, which was amended by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. Many of the provisions of the latter have proven unfair and unwise. For example, the permission given the states to pass legislation outlawing the union shop, even where agreed to by employers and the majority of employees under the strict terms of the Act itself, is a threat to mature and harmonious industrial relations. Such provisions should be repealed and a fresh study made of desirable labor-management relations.

Primary reliance for the settlement of industrial disputes should be placed on free collective bargaining. When failure to resolve a disagreement through this process clearly endangers the national interest, there should be some alternatives other than governmental inaction or the injunctive processes of the Taft-Hartley Act, such as, Presidential authority to appoint fact-finding boards with power to make recommendations to the groups in disagreement.

Technological progress, bringing increased automation in many industries, has led to union demands for protection of workers in their jobs and to employer demands for the revision of work rules which they feel to be obsolete. Labor, management, and government share responsibility for planning to make sure that technical improvements benefit all the people and that

those who are thus displaced are protected from adverse effects. Legislation should facilitate retraining, information, relocation, and other aids to workers, industries, and communities affected.

To protect those lacking organization, skill, or opportunity, the minimum wage should be increased to \$1.25 per hour, and this wage should be made applicable to migratory farm workers and others not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Further, the government should enlist the cooperation of labor and management to plan for a sound and steady rate of economic growth in order that all groups in our society may benefit and our nation contribute fully to the rapid economic development of the rest of the world.

—HUBER F. KLEMME, Associate Director, Council for
Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ.

FARM POLICY

The broad objectives of American farm policy must include: abundance of food and fiber for the needs of people; and justice for the producer.

ABUNDANCE. This goal does not imply unlimited or unregulated production. Realistic production goals should be set annually which indicate the amounts of various farm commodities that are necessary in order to provide all Americans with adequate diets; to furnish supplies for a generous and expanding program of trade and aid abroad; and to meet non-food needs.

The Federal Government and farmer-elected committees should work together in the development of orderly plans for production. They should allocate goals and encourage their achievement. Incentives should be provided to shift production to match the changing tastes and requirements of consumers. The Federal Government should maintain a reasonable and prudent reserve of the basic storable commodities against possible crop failure and national emergency.

Food produced must be made available if people are to be fed. As adjuncts to our farm policy, but not as charges against the federal farm budget, there must be developed:

- A national food stamp plan or equivalent method of assuring that every American has access to an adequate daily diet.

- A school lunch subsidy sufficient to assure that every school child has an adequate daily lunch.

- A vigorous, large-scale and long-range "Food for Peace" program which will: make surplus food available on a donation basis to meet emergencies in other nations; utilize farm commodities as capital in programs of economic development; and negotiate international commodity agreements to facilitate trade in American farm products for the benefit of food deficit nations and hungry people, but without unfair interference in the trade of other agricultural exporting nations.

JUSTICE. The goal of justice for farmers will be denied by no fair-minded American. "Parity" has become the symbol of the farmer's struggle for justice. The principle of parity is valid and should be upheld. It affirms that a diligent and efficient farm family, on an adequate family farm, is entitled as a matter of right to an income and level of living on a par with that of other American families investing comparable skill, labor and capital in other economic pursuits.

Government statistics show that the average farm family, on adequate and large farms, is today receiving an annual income \$1,500 lower than that of the average of all non-farm families. An unprotected market, deluged by the abundance of which modern farm technology is capable, will not and cannot return parity to farmers. Therefore, as the General Board of the National Council of Churches has declared: "Programs, when designed in accordance with sound economic principles and equitably administered, to protect farmers against sharp fluctuations and downward trends in real income are a legitimate and necessary function of the Federal Government."

Approximately two million families live on low-productivity farms. They constitute the largest single pocket of persistent poverty in American life. The tragic plight of these people calls for expanded programs of vocational guidance, technical assistance and supervised credit to enlarge their opportunities to earn adequate incomes and achieve satisfactory levels of living either on or off the farm.

—SHIRLEY E. GREENE, Secretary, Town and Country Church, Board of National Missions, Evangelical and Reformed Church.

MIGRATORY AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL LABOR

We pledge support of legislative measures and executive actions that will give seasonal agricultural workers parity with those in industry and trade. Specifically, we will call for the following:

- Extension of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act to children under 14 years of age working in agriculture outside of school hours.

- Extension of the minimum wage provisions of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act to cover men, women, and minors working in agriculture, possibly with periodic increases until the hourly wage equals the nationally prescribed minimum in interstate commerce.

- Compulsory coverage of all farm workers under State Workmen's Compensation laws.

- Revision of the National Labor Relations Act to include agriculture on the same basis as industry.

- Mandatory coverage of all farm workers under State Unemployment Laws.

- Provision for vocational retraining for agricultural workers threatened with job displacement through mechanization.

- Revision of the Social Security Act to provide that all categories of federal grants-in-aid be conditional upon there being no residential restrictions; further that provision be made for additional "grants-in-aid" categories of "Public Assistance" and of "Education" for migratory workers.

- Statutory authority, with adequate appropriations for operation, for a Federal commission or bureau on migratory labor providing for carrying on the work begun by the President's Committee on Migratory Labor.

- Statutory regulations of vehicles used to transport workers in the interest of safety, health and convenience; requirements for rest stops with provisions for comfort stations, pure water, sleeping and feeding.

- Extension of the farm labor importation program (Public Law 78) for a temporary period with a specific date of final termination and with definite provisions for annual reductions in the volume of importation written into the law.

- Annual registration of all labor contractors or crew leaders who for a fee recruit or furnish board, lodging or transportation for farm workers; prescription of requirements regarding records, representations to the employees and the employers, and protection of the workers from fraud.

- Housing and sanitation standards enforced under federal and state legislation covering all migratory labor camps.

—GALEN R. WEAVER, Secretary for Racial and Cultural Relations, Council for Christian Social Action.

NATIONAL RESOURCES AND AREA DEVELOPMENT

Our nation is threatened by the imminent exhaustion of our natural resources. As Christians, we know that we are stewards responsible for using the "earth's resources for the benefit of mankind now and in the future." As Theodore Roosevelt observed, "conservation of our natural resources is truly the price of survival as a people and a nation."

The nation is already beginning to feel the pinch of a booming population on one hand and declining resources on the other. Our supply of fresh water will be inadequate by 1980. Electrical energy output must be increased *threefold* to meet the power needs of 1980. At our present rate of use, we shall be sawing 76 per cent more timber than is grown each year by the end of this century. The soil on 300 million out of 400 million acres of land is eroding faster than it is being replenished.

Each area of our country requires special consideration for its proper development. A comprehensive and coordinated approach to the use and renewal of all resources within a given region is essential. Each region will be better served when federal, state and local agencies dealing with resources are coordinated. True regional planning integrated with national resource development will then be possible.

A clear appraisal of the total situation is essential. A good start was made in 1959 when SR 48 established the Senate

Select Committee on National Water Resources. Its findings are proving enormously helpful. Hearings were recently held on S. 2549, the Resources and Conservation Act of 1960, which provides a fresh approach to the problems inherent in the management and development of our national resources as a whole. It recognizes the needs for a national policy on natural resources, a continuing country-wide survey by experts, and an informed, coordinated, long-range joint approach by the Executive and Congress. The parties should pledge their support of such a coordinated national program.

—THERON and MARY ZIMMERMAN. Mr. Zimmerman is Pastor-at-Large for the Washington Congregational Christian Conference.

TAXES

Taxes are the people's investment in the common good. As such, they are a basic and rightful concern of all of us. This means that both the uses and the sources of our tax investment should be subject to constant review—by citizens, by political parties and their leaders, and by public officials and administrators.

This great nation with its unprecedented wealth can now afford the common goods which have heretofore been regarded as beyond our reach. Among these goods are:

- A better educational system, not only in quantity to keep up with the population increase, but also in quality.
- More adequate hospital, health and medical services and facilities.
- A better and safer highway and transportation system.
- More adequate conservation and wiser use of our natural resources for the benefit both of the present generation and of those to follow.
- More adequate provision for the aging members of our population.
- Increases in public, or publicly stimulated, private programs for slum clearance, housing, and the rescue of our cities from blight and decay.

- More generous provision for technical and financial assistance to the economically underdeveloped countries.

Sources of increased tax funds

We believe that these goods warrant an increased tax investment. As sources for increased tax funds we support:

- Use of the Government's monetary and fiscal powers toward stimulating economic growth while also maintaining a reasonable degree of stability, thus producing substantially more revenue from present tax sources.
- Provision of added revenues, through improved administration of present tax laws and the long-overdue closing of loopholes.
- Reduction in expenditures necessary for national defense, which it is hoped will result from a mutually accepted program of disarmament.
- Extension of the direct service-fee principle wherever possible and feasible.
- More and better services for the tax dollar through increased efficiency of government operation and more effective methods of dealing with special interest groups which press for activities that are not in the public interest.
- Separation of economic aid to underdeveloped countries from the program of military aid and security.
- Reconsideration by all Americans of what portion of our personal incomes should be reserved for purely private consumption and what portion should voluntarily be invested in commonly shared services which are best provided through government—national, state, and local.

Three important facts place this approach to taxes and their increasing use for socially desirable purposes in a position of strength in the nation today.

First, although the dollar amount of the Federal budget has increased significantly in recent years, there has been no increase in the proportion of the national income going into it.

Second, the use of the nation's manpower has advanced so

greatly through technological progress in industry that large numbers of persons are becoming available who can perform the services that are needed for the proper development of our society.

Third, increased understanding of the fact that tax dollars are not lost to the economy but serve both as built-in stabilizers and as stimulants to private enterprise. This is true, since most money spent by the government goes to a private person or enterprise in the form of goods purchased, construction work contracted, or as direct payments made for salaries and wages, pensions or compensation, or interest on the public debt.

A nation, which under the stress of war emergency found that it could have both "guns and butter" is coming to realize that with judgment and concern enough, it can have both private goods and desirable public services as well; further, that it can share both of these in growing measure with other needy people around the world.

—CAMERON P. HALL, Executive Director, Department of the Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches.

PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES

Let's stop hating our cities!

Urban slums, deterioration and blight are increasing at a rate far exceeding the total of all efforts in force or presently planned to remove them. In 1950 New York had 208,000 units of slum housing; by 1959 the number was 350,000—an increase of 7,500 units per year in a decade noted for the largest slum clearance programs ever developed.

The problems are not the private concern of politicians, contractors or realtors. Everyone is involved. Over 90 per cent of the increase in the exploding population is occurring in metropolitan areas. Suburbs cannot survive as healthy parts of the metropolitan organism if the center is cancerous. We must learn to think and plan in terms of urban regions. Air pollution, water, sewage disposal, transportation, highways, housing, problems of human relations, cannot be handled on a neighborhood or municipal basis. As the American Institute of Planners states:

Twenty years of experience has shown that, unaided, the cities are financially incapable of dealing with urban blight except on

a totally inadequate scale. . . . To achieve satisfactory progress in urban renewal *every level of government* will have to increase its efforts.

Federal programs affecting metropolitan areas are not coordinated. Highway programs are not integrated legislatively with programs of urban renewal or of other public works. No policy exists for providing adequate housing for low- and middle-income families. Most mortgage financing is available to those who need it least. A Department of Urban Affairs at cabinet level in the Federal Government is long overdue in a nation that is 85 per cent urban and rapidly becoming a country of metropolitan areas.

Planning for physical development must be coordinated with social planning. The human values of compassion, responsibility and respect for the individual must be paramount. The people for whom the land uses are being planned must be more fully involved in the planning process. Delinquency frequently results from rejection; and rejection can be built into communities when plans are based primarily on economic gain. Developments that are stratified in homogeneous economic, occupational, racial, ethnic, or class groupings prevent the achievement of a society which includes all sorts and conditions of men.

The attitudes and behavior of Americans, including church members, have reflected hatred of cities for far too long. Urban problems will not be solved by running away. We must learn to appreciate the values of interdependence, the excitement of art, music, cultural innovation and communication that can create a sense of community. Christ has not left the city. The church must help Americans to find him there.

—JOSEPH W. MERCHANT, Secretary for the Urban Church, Board of Home Missions, Congregational and Christian Churches.

EDUCATION

It is in the best interests of our own country, as well as of others, that each person regardless of economic status, be enabled through education to develop his highest potentialities for the service of society.

To provide such educational opportunity for every one is primarily the responsibility of state and local communities; but

when they are unable financially to discharge this responsibility completely the Federal Government should give assistance without, however, exercising control of education.

Many states and local communities are now supporting their schools, to the extent of their ability. Most of the others will be in the same position before the tidal wave of increased student enrollment subsidies. In view of this critical situation the following federal assistance seems mandatory:

- Grants to states for the construction of needed elementary and secondary public school buildings. The grant to any state should be inversely proportional to the state's ability to pay for needed buildings. No grant should be made to non-public schools.

- Grants to states to provide scholarships, based on both ability and need, for students in both public and private colleges and universities. Allocation of funds to the states should be based on their respective needs.

- Loans to both public and private colleges and universities to provide classroom buildings and residence halls, where need can be demonstrated. Interest rates should be such that no part of the loan is a gift.

—CLARENCE E. JOSEPHSON, Vice-President,
Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill.

HEALTH

The health of all the people must continue to be a major concern of the parties. Health can be promoted by programs which raise standards of living, foster wholesome family relationships, and assist people in developing their capacity, as well as by health services *per se*.

Facilities must be further developed for research in mental health and for more adequate and extensive treatment and rehabilitation of persons who are ill.

The Government must deal with the financing of health services. It should continue to encourage experimental patterns of health service, such as group health programs under the auspices of labor, management, or other responsible voluntary associations of people. It should encourage the inclusion of

mental, dental, nursing and other kinds of health service in prepaid care. More adequate health care should be made available to retired and other aged persons and to persons living in rural areas. If voluntary prepayment plans cannot accomplish the desired ends, the Government should protect the health of the people by making possible the prepayment of health services.

The shortage of workers in the health professions demands serious attention. Support is needed for more training facilities and for professional and related education. The established practices in nursing and public health provide good patterns for the giving of further assistance. Support for research has already brought significant advances to man's health.

International health and wholesome international relationships have been advanced by generations of Christian health workers. Programs of mutual aid for health services demand extensive support and can express the churches' concern for the whole community of men. Two problems which affect human health require explicit and conscientious consideration: rapid increases in the population and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

This material is based on the pronouncement, "The Churches' Concern for Health Services," adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches; but the author assumes full responsibility for the view expressed here.

—ROSCOE P. KANDLE, M.D., State Commissioner
of Health for New Jersey.

THE AGING

More than 15,000,000 citizens of this nation are now over 65 years of age, and their number is increasing rapidly. Mandatory retirement rules have taken many thousands of them away from their jobs; and retirement pensions are often far too small to cover living costs, particularly for medical expenses. Aging citizens frequently have to seek help from welfare agencies to supplement their limited incomes.

An enlightened society will look to its older citizens with respect, and design ways to help them to enjoy good health, and to be useful even when they are not gainfully employed. It will encourage flexibility in retirement regulations, and allow

senior citizens to hold part-time positions without seriously affecting their retirement pensions. It will aid communities in providing adequate low-cost housing opportunities for older persons. It will help to establish needed medical facilities; and find a way to link health insurance to the Social Security program so that aging persons may be relieved of anxiety concerning medical costs as they face impaired physical powers.

—F. NELSEN SCHLEGEL, Field Secretary, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ.

HOUSING

It is estimated that about 15 million families, or one fourth of the nation's total, are ill-housed. This is at a period when production is the highest in the world's history. The housing needs of this substantial segment of the American people call for rededication to the goal of the 1940 Housing Act of "a decent home and a suitable living environment" in communities free from slums and blight.

The total supply of housing in the nation needs to be expanded because of increases in the population, formation of new families, shifts in residence patterns, the development of new communities, and the spread of obsolescence in the inner-city areas. The situation requires a policy of maximum assistance and stimulation through the Federal Government aimed at increasing the total housing supply of the nation, through both public and private sponsorship. Approximately 2,500,000 new housing units are needed per year, while only about 1,500,000 are being built.

While increasing the total supply of housing, commitment should be given to meeting the needs of the aged and of low-income groups through both public and private housing; and meeting the needs of middle-income groups through private construction of ownership housing under long-term loans which hold mortgage interest rates to reasonable levels. Increased assistance is essential for urban redevelopment and for urban renewal in areas of blight or impending blight. Aid should be given for increasing the supply of housing and for improving the beauty and efficiency of the living environment.

Low-cost public housing is the key to meeting the immediate

housing needs of the total population in a balanced program. Programs to stimulate private building plans for renewal and redevelopment are no substitute for it. Indeed, low-cost housing is essential for relocating families when low-income residential areas are cleared. At least 200,000 low-cost public housing units per year should be pledged for this purpose.

Equal opportunity should be given to all persons to compete in a free housing market. A policy of non-discrimination and non-segregation in all federally-aided housing programs is essential; it should be applied both where state anti-discrimination laws are present and where they are lacking. A Presidential committee, charged with the responsibility of implementing this policy should be created.

—HERMAN H. LONG, Race Relations Department,
American Missionary Association, Board of
Home Missions, Congregational and Christian
Churches, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

CIVIL RIGHTS

A meaningful civil rights program ought to include specific proposals for action in at least these four areas:

- *Desegregation of schools.* What shall be done to further the implementation of the Supreme Court decision? Steps need to be considered to get the process underway in states that have accomplished little or nothing; and to encourage those areas that have honestly sought to abide by the desegregation order. Federal technical and financial assistance is necessary in both groups of states.

- *The Civil Rights Commission.* This investigating body has submitted extensive evidence and made recommendations pertaining to the right to vote. Acknowledgement of the existence of irregularities and proposals for action to remedy the abuses should certainly find a place in the party platforms.

- *Fair employment.* Despite the enactment of fair employment laws in a number of states, federal backing is imperative. Party support could also affect the passing of such laws in states not yet so protected.

- *Housing.* Strong support should be given for fair housing laws and practices. Discrimination in housing is still one of the most serious bottlenecks in urban renewal, not to mention the broader problem of simple human decency.

The strength of a civil rights program in this election year will be measured, not by the loftiness of its sentiments, but by the seriousness of the proposals for putting it into action.

—R. W. RABER, Minister, Hough Avenue Evangelical and Reformed Church, Cleveland, Ohio; and Acting Secretary for Racial and Cultural Relations, CCSA.

HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

We favor the immediate passage of legislation granting Home Rule to residents of the District of Columbia. We also urge Congress to adopt now and present to the legislatures of the several states a Constitutional Amendment granting national representation in Congress for the District of Columbia.

Our nation stands for representative government before the world, but in our Capital the people have no vote for any public office-holder at any level of government. Our nation stands for equality of all men before God, but in our Capital this basic American principle has been frustrated by the actions of a few and the apathy of others. The conscience of the country cannot permit a travesty of democracy in the center of democratic leadership.

Restoration of self-government (Home Rule) to the nation's Capital has the support of the President, the Senate, both national political parties, the people of the District of Columbia, and a large number of civic, professional, and religious groups throughout the country.

—CHARLES M. ENGLISH, Co-chairman of the Social Action Committee of the Middle Atlantic Conference of Congregational Christian Churches.

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEES

Our country owes a tremendous debt to its immigrants. They settled the country and established many of its free institutions. They contributed labor and skill. Our country has been made strong by the infusion of new blood they brought from abroad.

The image of America as the home of oppressed peoples has shone round the world. But in recent years that image has been tarnished by the discriminatory quota system imposed by Congress in 1924. It restricted immigration from southern and eastern Europe and practically eliminated immigration from Asia and Africa. An immigration policy which discriminates on grounds of race or color and which is based upon the accident of national origin is in conflict with American tradition and is an embarrassment in our relations with freedom-seeking peoples in Asia and Africa. Our immigration policy needs basic revision to eliminate provisions which discriminate on grounds of race, national origin and religious faith.

An immigration policy consistent with our traditions would admit many more refugees and oppressed peoples. Special provision should be made to take a larger share of the "hard core" cases, the handicapped, the tubercular, and the poor. Our practices in this World Refugee Year have not matched our promises

. . . Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, . . .
—EMMA LAZARUS in "The New Colossus"
(on the Statue of Liberty)

or our possibilities, but the opportunity has not passed. Few nations are more able to help. Our compassion for the oppressed and our confidence in the cause of human freedom constrain us to care for deserving refugees in greatly increased numbers.

Our immigration policy should be more flexible. Using the 1950 instead of the 1920 census as the basis for establishing the number of immigrants admitted would bring our legislation up to date. Unused quotas should be redistributed. Provisions for family reunion and adoption should also be extended.

These proposals for modification of the law have been stated in the previous platforms of both parties but little has been done to implement them in legislation or by the administration.

—RAY GIBBONS, Director, Council
for Christian Social Action.



Foreign policy

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The two major political parties regard the subject of international organization as warranting only the most general and least specific of "platform" language. In 1956 both party platforms indicated that three international organizations were good and deserved American support: the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Organization of American States. The Republicans also commended the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. The Republicans promised to "continue to vigorously support" the United Nations, whereas the Democrats wanted to "strengthen and expand" it. Both parties agreed that Red China should not be admitted to it. The Democrats favored "justice on a global scale" and promised to "increase the solidarity of nations in the North Atlantic Community."

Individual Democrats and Republicans may wish that their parties would recognize the fact that the United States is, and has been for a long time, a member of a large number of international organizations—perhaps as many as seventy at present, of which the United Nations is but one. What is needed is increased awareness of the fact that more and more specific problems in today's world can be removed as subjects of conflict when governments work and create the permanent machinery for doing so. If the two parties would recognize the advantage that has accrued from the evolutionary processes of

the last hundred years, they might write into their 1960 platforms something more than pious platitudes concerning support for the United Nations and the other international organizations of which the United States is a member.

As a specific suggestion, if the party leaders really believe in justice and the rule of law, they might promise to repeal the Connally Amendment, which restricts the United States from accepting the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. At the moment, the United States says in effect, "We do not believe in the rule of law except in cases where we are willing to be sued." No one expects that justice and the rule of law will suddenly burst forth in full glory throughout the world. But this desirable goal will never be achieved unless the United States, as the most powerful of the free nations, is willing to agree that all international legal issues should be settled by the International Court of Justice.

—WALDO CHAMBERLIN, Professor of International Relations, New York University, and a member of the International Relations Committee of the Council for Christian Social Action.

ARMAMENTS AND THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

The ————— Party recognizes as the overriding issue of our time the building of a new world order to replace the order destroyed in two world wars. The struggle to build this new order is made difficult and dangerous by (1) international communism's bid for predominant world power, (2) the dissolution of the colonial system and the emergence of many new nations, (3) the universal revolt against poverty, and (4) the threat of universal destruction through the use of the strongest military weapons now in the possession of four great nations.

The reduction and control of armaments cannot be considered apart from positive steps to reduce tensions and to create international instruments to settle disputes and assist the nations in their struggle toward the new world order. The nations will not dispense with their national military power so long as there are no reliable international institutions to defend them against aggression and to secure their just rights. Since all societies, national and international, require the element of force, the contemporary problem is not to abolish force but to control it.

The ————— Party declares its conviction that the present system of national military forces, competing with one another for superiority, draining the resources of the nations, and subject to no control save the wills of the individual nations has become anarchic and intolerable. A world bound closely together by technological inventions has made the system anarchic. Atomic weapons have made it intolerable. We, therefore, declare that we shall work steadfastly toward the creation of an adequate body of international law, an effective international juridical system, and an international police power for the protection of the nations. In the meantime, we shall maintain and strengthen our association with like-minded nations in united resistance to international communism and in building the instruments for cooperation wherever cooperation is possible.

The renunciations of war as an instrument of national policy has become a condition of survival. We do not say, "Better war than Communist rule!" In the atomic age war is not an acceptable alternative to any other evil. We say, "War must be avoided!" About this we must have no reservations. Every political, economic, and moral resource of the United States must be gathered up and concentrated on the avoidance of war. This is not the same as saying, "We shall never, under any circumstances, use our armed power." No government can promise this. We can only say, with the whole mind and will, "We shall endlessly persevere in the search of adjustments, in negotiations, in the meeting of statesmen and people, in the increase of understanding, in the critical examination of our own national life and policies, because we know that if these fail and war comes, the consequences are too terrible to contemplate." The ————— Party is not in possession of a panacea; it is possessed by a spirit of dedication to peaceful ways of building the new world order.

While armaments are not a primary cause of war, the anxiety created by the present armaments race does not contribute toward sober and creative consideration of international disputes. A race for superiority in armaments can never provide security. It is not enough for the United States to insist on what, from our viewpoint, is right. We are not the sole arbiters of the world's destiny. Other nations and other ways have their legitimate interests and rights and their justified fears. Not every

concession to an opponent is to be looked upon as surrender of important principle. Firmness in the right, as we see it, will serve peace and freedom better than appeasement, but a rigid and self-righteous stance may only lead to disaster.

—HERMAN F. REISSIG, International Relations Secretary,
Council for Christian Social Action.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

The objective of the foreign economic policy of the U.S.A. should be to plan for the inevitable adjustments related to the merging of our national economy with those of the rest of the world.

World trade

We should work vigorously toward free world trade, not only for reasons of economy, but also because it is a major safety valve for meeting the inevitable demands of the world's people for fair treatment.

Every citizen should become aware of the basic economic fact that whenever we buy goods abroad, we put dollars in the hands of others who will then be able to buy goods in our country. Some sectors of our economy will suffer in competition with cheaper goods from abroad; and other sectors will grow because of increased demand for goods which can be made in our country. Since we are concerned about both economy and good relations with the rest of the world, it is to our national interest to make such adjustments as are necessary: e.g., to share the costs of re-tooling and retraining involved in transferring workers from one form of production to another according to the demands of the world economy.

Every citizen should learn that when workers are paid unemployment compensation, when farmers are paid for not producing, and when subsidies are paid to companies for producing something for which there is no effective economic demand, these payments constitute a waste of national resources. Some social economic planning will be necessary to help make the adjustments that are required for the survival of private enterprise if it is to prove worthy of world public confidence in the future. Otherwise, demands will be made for some other form of economic organization which can meet the needs for production

and distribution of basic goods and services for the world's peoples during the years ahead.

World aid

Our people are becoming aware of the need for helping people in less privileged areas of the world. Some contribute out of a feeling of compassion and generosity reflected from basic Christian teachings to feed those who are hungry. Others are moved by political pressures related to self-interest for some form of aid. The people should be told about the vast dimensions of world poverty which will most certainly threaten the peace of the world unless bold efforts are made to deal with it.

World economic development

While charitable grants can alleviate emergency conditions related to droughts, floods, epidemics or other catastrophes, the basic problem of overcoming poverty calls for economic development. The United States is becoming interested in economic development throughout the world. This includes the use of both private and public capital, the training of managerial and skilled personnel, and the sharing of technologies and technical assistance.

Private capital can be expected to go where the possibilities for earning private profit are most attractive. Public capital is usually allocated for assistance to private investment, strategic military developments, and for programs to strengthen the economies of politically strategic areas. Such patterns of capital allocation leave large gaps in parts of the world where human needs are great and where political instability makes it difficult to attract private and public capital for economic development.

Multilateral economic development loans can be helpful, whether made through the World Bank, the International Development Association, or the United Nations. The question is how much will the United States Government make available for such purposes? After World War II, the United States contributed almost 2 per cent of its Gross National Product for Marshall Plan aid to Europe. We now spend over 10 per cent of our Gross National Product for military purposes. The United States should be able to afford from 2 per cent to 5 per cent of the GNP for facilitating worldwide economic development.

The economics of disarmament

In a recent meeting the General Assembly of the United Nations declared unanimously that "general and complete disarmament" is the most important problem facing the world today." The Assembly called on all the governments of the world to make every effort to achieve a "constructive solution" to that problem. This means that our government should plan for readjustments in our national economy in preparation for disarmament. This step would indicate our sincerity in finding other ways of settling international disputes. Thus far, there is little indication that our government is seriously undertaking such studies. Christians should support government action in this field.

Competition in helping the world

The United States has been challenged by the Soviet Union in the field of economic production and world trade. Mr. Khrushchev claims that the outcome will prove the superiority of the Soviet economic system.

The Soviet Union has challenged us in a race to help people get what they want: the economic means for meeting basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, health services, education and welfare; and the social goal of feeling that they are not discriminated against because of their racial or ethnic background. They have challenged us in a race to share our scientific achievements, patents, and technologies with the underdeveloped areas—Asia, Africa and Latin America—and to help them raise their level of living.

This is a formidable challenge. It is making a significant impression on peoples of the world who are learning about it. It will become increasingly attractive to desperate peoples in the future. The time has come for Americans to learn the full dimensions of this challenge and to meet it constructively.

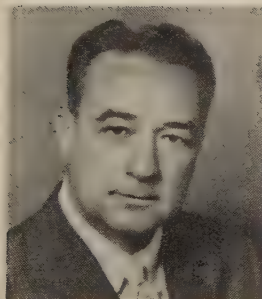
Christians should be the first to welcome a challenge to help the people of the world, and to make every effort to see that fundamental human rights are safeguarded. When suffering occurs, whether it is in Algeria, Hungary, Communist China, or Mississippi, Christians should be concerned with positive efforts to relieve human sufferings and degradation. With the survival of the world at stake, it is apparent that constructive ap-

proaches are needed to ameliorate the world's conflicts and to focus attention on meeting the world's needs—physical, social, and spiritual.

—DARRELL RANDALL, Associate Executive Director,
Department of International Affairs, National
Council of Churches.

C. B. NEWELL

1909—1960



The Council for Christian Social Action and the United Church of Christ have suffered a great loss in the untimely death of Mr. Carmon B. Newell. "C. B." was a member of the Council from the time of its organization in June 1957, having been elected to the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church the preceding year. He was Director of District Nine of the United Steelworkers of America

AFL-CIO, with his office in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. He gave devoted leadership to his union in Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey and served on its International Board. He brought to the Council's deliberations not only a valuable background of knowledge and experience in the labor movement but an openness of mind, a keenness of judgment, and a graciousness of spirit which won the respect and affection of his colleagues.

His gifts were recognized by and generously placed at the disposal of many church and community causes. As a member of Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church, Freemansburg, he served as vice-president of the consistory and as chairman of the committee on Christian social action. He was at various times president of the Board of Education of Freemansburg, member of the boards of the Bethlehem Committee on Alcoholism, the Greater Bethlehem Community Chest, the Foreign Policy Association of Bethlehem, and of the Labor Advisory Board of Pennsylvania State University. —HUBER F. KLEMME



NAILING DOWN THE PLANKS IN THE PARTY PLATFORMS

If you believe that party platforms are for candidates to get in on but not to stand upon, then read no further. If you are looking for amusing programs to tickle the fancy of members already bored with political discussion, just skip these pages. Politics is so exciting that it soon involves the spectators as participants. It is such important business that every amateur strives to become a professional. Dabblers and dilettantes, beware!

Christians can make an important contribution to vital democracy by drawing the attention of the public to the issues. More significant than the image of the candidate, or even the glamor of his family are the policies he will pursue and the decisions he will make. To the degree that the planks of the party platform deal with the real issues they represent an important part of the process of policy formulation. Therefore, we do well to speak and act as if we expected the party platform to be something the candidate stands upon during the elections and lives upon when he is in office. The platform

helps draw attention to the important political issues and helps commit the party and its candidates to policies which will govern their use of power in office. The following suggestions for action by church members support such responsible attention to party platforms:

Discuss proposed planks

Ask church members to read this issue of **SOCIAL ACTION** in advance of the meeting and to check the planks suggested for the party platforms which seem most important and useful. On the basis of these selections and the discussion at the meeting, draft proposals which the group wishes to make. Send these to the leaders of the local political parties, to public interest groups such as the League of Women Voters, and to the chairmen of the platform committees of the national political parties. Be sure to send a copy of your proposals to the editors of the local papers and suggest that they deal with them in editorials. Suggest to the radio and/or television stations that they have panels on these proposals as part of their public affairs programs.

Testify before platform committees

Submit the proposals from your group to the platform committees of the parties either at public hearings or in writing. Try to get in touch with the members of the state delegation who will serve as members of the party platform committees. Ask them to keep you informed. Communicate your views to the political party chairmen:

Mr. Paul M. Butler, Chairman
Democratic National Committee
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. Thurston B. Morton, Chairman
Republican National Committee
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Use NCC publications

The General Board of the National Council of Churches adopted a provocative statement, "Christian Responsibility in the 1960 Elections," at its meeting in February 1960. Copies are available from the Cleveland and New York offices of the CCSA at 10c each or \$7.50 per hundred. Call the pastor's attention to it and place copies in the hands of church officers and chairmen of church groups, as well as political and community leaders. Another publication, "Election Issues in 1960 which Make a World of Difference," may be inserted in church calendars or mailings. They are available at 10c each or \$7.50 per hundred from the CCSA. Both of these fliers will be useful in

calling attention to important domestic and international issues.

Study voting records

Voting Records of Congressmen are prepared by the Congressional Quarterly, Inc. for the social action agencies of the churches. Secure copies from the CCSA at 10c each. Members of social action committees might study the voting records and report the results in meetings and in the public press.

Sponsor candidates' meeting

Hold a meeting where candidates of the major parties answer questions on their positions. Prepare a list of issues on which the views of the candidates are sought. Let it be known that church members are concerned about the integrity, capacity, and viewpoints of the candidates. Distribute the NCC leaflets mentioned above.

Publicize the "Call"

Reproduce copies of the section on political life in the "Call to Christian Action in Society." The "Call" was adopted by the General Synod of the United Church of Christ in July 1959. Distribute it to all members of the church. Make a large poster of the text for display inside the church and also on the outside bulletin board. The text of this section follows:

Political Life. God holds political life under his providence and

judgment. It is the area in which men and nations make some of the most fateful decisions of our time. In this process controversy and compromise serve important and necessary functions.

We therefore call upon our churches and their members to pray and work:

- For the support of effective, representative, and responsible government;
- For active participation of Christians in political life as voters, workers in parties, candidates, office holders, and civil servants;
- For the critical evaluation, within the fellowship of the church and in the perspective of the Christian faith, of the policies and practices of candidates, office holders, and political parties;
- For a church with bonds of Christian fellowship so strong that it dares to discuss and act upon civic and political issues;
- For maintaining the independence of the churches and the state, and for creative cooperation between them.

Survey activity of members

Make a survey of the participation of the members of your church in political life. Make a check list which will indicate the number of eligible voters who are registered, who attend political meetings, who engage in political party organizations and work, who contribute to party expenses, who run for office on the party tickets, who actually and intelligently vote on election day, and who keep in touch with their representa-

tives when they are in office. Report your findings to the church, church groups, and the community.

Draft a fair practices code

Use the resources of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee (8 East 66th Street, New York 21, N. Y.) to draft a code of fair campaign practices. Secure a copy of "Teaching Aids" for program discussions in the youth groups of your church. (Single copies, 25c.)

Emphasize freedom

Make plans to participate in the interdenominational social action emphasis for 1960-61 on "Christian Responsibility for Freedom." The program is designed to focus attention upon the problems of civil liberties and church-state relations. A CCSA packet of materials for this emphasis will be ready in June. It will contain a Case Book, a leaflet describing the emphasis, the September issue of *SOCIAL ACTION* on the subject, and program suggestions for the churches. The packet on "Christian Responsibility for Freedom" may be obtained for \$1.00. The participation of church members in this year's social action emphasis will go far toward making political party platforms support strong and responsible candidates, parties and administrations.

—RAY GIBBONS



CHRISTIAN FAITH AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICS

Scripture: Isaiah 53:6-9; Philip-
pians 2:5-8.

Hymns: "Lord, Save Thy World"
and "Turn Back, O Man."

Meditation

"If the American church fails in our time, the reason will not be that lions have eaten its leaders or police burned them at the stake; it will not even be that our economy and politics have enticed them into renouncing God in lust for wealth and power. It will be that a culture has so embraced and cajoled them that they worship its idols, even while directing their liturgies to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."¹

"The Christian knows the evil of the world; he does not gloss it over with sentimentality or pretend that ugly things are not there. But he knows, too, that this evil does not have the last word. In this world good and evil are mixed, so that he must look at and evaluate each situation. He cannot decide beforehand, with the cynic, that all is evil and no good is possible, or,

with the sentimental idealist, that all good is possible. He cannot decide beforehand; he must look and carefully discriminate among the various instances of good and evil in the real world, including politics.

". . . [The] moral discipline for democratic politics needs to rest on a larger view even than democracy. A faith in God, who is the God of all peoples and of every man, can bring to each of us that sense of our need of restraint by purposes larger than our own which is necessary for democratic politics really to work."²

Prayer

"In a world where peace is a stranger we pray unto thee, O God, for help to keep our hearts and minds steady in this time of large disorders. There is strength in thee when the foundations of the earth are shaken; there is hope in thee though the heavens fall. Gird us with thy spirit that, trusting thee, we may lift our hearts with courage and do our work with faith that nothing done according to thy will shall pass away. Amen."³

—Prepared by MRS. F. P.
BRASSEUR, Women's Guild,
Evangelical and Reformed
Church, Cleveland, Ohio.

¹ Roger Shinn, *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, January 1960.

² William L. Miller, "Grounds for Political Campaigns, *Crossroads*, April 4, 1954.

³ Samuel H. Miller, *Prayers for Daily Use*.

social action calendar



- JUNE 6-10:** *Central Christian Social Action Institute.* Dunkirk, N. Y.* Dean: Rev. Herman F. Reissig. Cost, \$30.
- JUNE 20-24:** *West Coast Christian Social Action Institute.* Mill Valley, Calif.* Dean: Julian J. Keiser. Cost, \$30.
- JUNE 22-JULY 7:** *Hawaiian Seminar.* Leaders: Rev. and Mrs. Galen R. Weaver. Cost from San Francisco and return, \$692.
- JUNE 22-AUGUST 23:** *World Seminar.* Leaders: Dr. and Mrs. Ray Gibbons. Cost, \$2800.
- JUNE 20-JULY 2:** *Seventeenth Annual Race Relations Institute,* Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. Director: Dr. Herman H. Long.
- JULY 11-15:** *Midwest Christian Social Action Institute.* Sheboygan, Wisc.* Dean: Dr. Huber F. Klemme. Cost, \$30.
- JULY 18-22:** *Southern Christian Social Action Institute,* Black Mountain, N. C.* Dean: Rev. James H. Lightbourne, Jr. Cost, \$30.
- JULY 25-29:** *Eastern Christian Social Action Institute.* Framingham, Mass.* Dean: Rev. F. Nelsen Schlegel. Cost, \$30.
- AUGUST 3-22:** *Mexican Seminar.* Leaders: Dr. and Mrs. Huber F. Klemme. Cost, \$295 in Mexico.

* Limited scholarship help available from the CCSA. Members of CC churches, write Miss Fern Babcock, 289 Park Avenue South, New York 10, New York. E and R members, write the Rev. F. Nelsen Schlegel, 2969 West 25th Street, Cleveland 13, Ohio.

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